15: U.S. Navy --21 [3] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 186, 563, 177.66 Japanese
636.66

"The first generation of Japanese in the island came as adventurers who hoped to get rich quickly in the wake and under the protection of an occupying army. A domineering and ruthless attitude toward the native population has persisted, although the second or younger generation is beginning to identify itself with the island. It has been bred away from a strong homeland (Japan Proper) tradition. Although the essence of home and school training is emphasis on 'true Japanese spirit,' in practice the lives of these young Japanese are governed by the colonial situation in which they find themselves. They have a strongly developed 'exploitation' and imperialist outlook which prevents them from learning anything of the language or customs of the people among whom they live. Very few Japanese can speak elementary Formosan-Chinese."

15: U.S. Navy --22 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 186, 609

"The Formosan-Chinese as a whole are intelligent but self-centered, displaying little interest in affairs beyond the limits of their own community. They do not have high standards of loyalty or honesty outside their own group. In dealing with strangers they are crafty, but with friends they are open, generous and kind. They despise the Japanese and all their ways, but respect policing power and conform to Japanese orders as the course of least resistance. They are physically tough and capable of great endurance as laborers."

15: U.S. Navy --22 [9] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 186, 668, 563, 177.66 Japanese
636.66

"It is evident from an analysis of election returns that the greatest interest in politics and representative government is shown in the districts where the Hakka people are predominant, notably in Shinchiku Province. It is also notable that many of the leaders of fierce resistance to the initial Japanese invasion of the island were Hakka people or people from areas in which the Hakka predominate. Not only is government -processed opium said to be more easily accessible in Shinchiku Province, but it is in this district that the Japanese have taken greatest pains to destroy local religious cults, and to press the Japanization program."

15: U.S. Navy --24-25 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 191, 212, 872, 186, 177.19 Japanese
636.19

"Japanese, spoken by the 323,148 Japanese, is the official language of the island, and is spoken by a high percentage of the middle-aged and younger Formosan-Chinese in urban centers, but by few of the older agricultural community. About 42 percent of the Formosan-Chinese children attend elementary public schools to learn the Japanese [25] language and doctrines. They learn very little Japanese and at the same time lose the opportunity, when young, to learn something of written Chinese. Hence these younger Chinese are technically 'literate', and can understand orders issued in simple Japanese. Japanese is supposed to be compulsory for all who know it, and it is true that Japanese has become the lingua franca of the island. It may be said that Japanese, as the official language, will be understood by someone in any large gathering of people or in every village outside of the most remote savage territory, although the Formosan-Chinese avoid using it when they can."

42: Schetelig--388 T-2 (no date) 1868 Formosans
116, 162, 186, 463, 609

The population of Sawo, which is cut off from all communication by land with the rest of the island (except with the Caponlan Plain), is consequently made up of the dregs of the Chinese population. Since agriculture is impossible, they belong to a genus of seaman such as exists only in China, for on occasion they can transform themselves into pirates, shore robbers, camphor wood thieves or mandarin's soldiers, as required. Sawo is a place with an evil reputation even among the Chinese....Shortly after we had arrived camphor agents landed and, although they were extremely polite to us on the surface, they nevertheless looked at us suspiciously for they thought that their secret trade might be unfavorably influenced by us. These persons then stirred up the inhabitants against us and spread the rumor that we were traveling in the interests of a foreign government, the Prussian Government, and they hampered us in all our movements. The web of intrigue that was thrown around us was extremely finely spun, and every day there were new troubles and new affronts; for the Chinese, when he is evil, observes the principle that evil must be profitable to him, or it is not worth the trouble. Finally, after they had tried in vain to starve us out, for we were well supplied, we had to forego water transportation. The boats and junks were hidden from us and we were compelled to travel by land over the ridge of hills to the north to the plain of Caponlan, since we could not leave behind the instruments, etc. Fortunately there were five of us and we were all armed, for among these rogues a single man would have perhaps had a hard time.

668 been really strong on the island. It has never been given a chance to take root among Formosans. Communism was repeatedly persecuted by Japan with vigor when the island was under Japanese rule. After the restoration, a great many Communists perished in the February-March 1947 incident. Another important reason why the Formosans have never cherished any hope of being "liberated" by the Communists is that the islanders are convinced that they are faring better than the Chinese on the Mainland. Refugees fled from the Mainland have many stories to tell of the terror and sufferings they have experienced, and such accounts simply render Communist propaganda ineffective. The fact that 14,209 Chinese prisoners of war in Korea refused repatriation after hostilities ceased and that the inhabitants of Yikiangshan (I-chiang-shan) and nearby islands chose to evacuate to Formosa provide additional evidence of the ineffectualness of Communist propaganda. It is quite certain that the people in Formosa are firmly opposed to Communist and that they will wholeheartedly defend the island against Communist aggression.

B. Toward Independence:

• 186 668 Some Formosans favor complete independence for the island from Nationalist rule. They advocate the sitting up of a United Nations trusteeship as a means of enabling the island to attain autonomy. It is said that the Japanese are secretly encouraging the movement in the hope that an independent Formosa might provide a better chance for Japan's imperialist expansion in the future. The separation

186 668 movement attracted some following soon after the return of the island to Chinese rule, when the Formosans found themselves worse off than they were under the Japanese. They were denied at that time the opportunity of participating in the management of Japanese enterprises taken over by the Chinese Government. Although the new Chinese Constitution was in force on the Mainland in 1947, local self-government for Formosa was not carried out until 1949. Even then all positions of authority, in both government and business, were occupied by Mainland Chinese. As to the local people, if they had any standing during the Japanese regime, all were treated as Japanese collaborationists. Formosan Chinese who were enthusiastic about the restoration of the island to Chinese rule, expected equality from the Nationalist administration. When they were treated as second class citizens, they were naturally disappointed. Their resentment led to the growth of the independence or separation movement.

The leaders of the independence movement are the two Liao brothers, Joshua and Thomas. Their father was a tax collector at Lotung. Both brothers were educated at Columbia University, and taught in high schools after their return to Formosa. They formed a Freedom Party in 1945 and associated with the Communists in the uprising occurring February 28, 1947. Following this incident, they fled to Hong Kong, organized the Formosan League for Reemancipation, and issued a manifesto, "Formosa Speaks," demanding independence and a plebescite.

The manifesto was circulated among the representatives to the United Nations. In May 1950 a Formosan Democratic Independence Party was organized in Tokyo; its leaders included Wilfred Wong, James H. Chen, Gordon Tan, Y. T. Tsong and Frank Lim.[9] Joshua Liao was elected Chairman of the new party. It was reported by a Hong Kong newspaper[10] that in view of their past association with the Communists, the Liao brothers were confined in Sugamo prison, Tokyo, for seven to eight months after their arrival in Japan, and were bailed out by an American by the name of John Kellen. In the latter part of 1955, apparently in connivance with Japanese authorities, they were active again. In September they organized an association of Taiwan residents in Japan and a "Taiwan Provisional Congress."[11] On November 21, 1955, it was announced that Joshua Liao assumed the post of the "President of the Taiwan Provisional Government" and the chairman of the Provisional Congress, while Wu Chen-nan was named "Vice-President."[12] According to Japan's Immigration Bureau, there were in 1955 about 25,000 Formosans living in Japan. How many of the Formosan residents supported Liao was not disclosed.

In Formosa the independence movement is regarded just as traitorous as Communism. Since

9. F. W. Riggs, op. cit., p. 56.

10. Weekly Supplement of Hsing-tao Jih-pao (Hsing-tao Daily), No. 201, Sept. 15, 1955, p. 12.

11. United Press, Tokyo dispatch, Sept. 28, 1955.

12. Pan-Asia News Alliance, dispatch of November 21, 1955.

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178 public expression of popular sentiment is not encouraged, it is difficult to tell how many Formosan Chinese would prefer complete independence or United Nations trusteeship for Formosa to Nationalist government. Moreover, conditions have been changing rapidly in the island. The opinions of foreign observers who visited Formosa during the early years of Nationalist rule are no longer sustained by recent visits. The truth of the matter is that the tide has turned since 1949. An almost uninterrupted series of reforms, economic, political and military, has taken place recently. Land reform has done away with the inquitous system of exorbitant rental. Tenants who constituted two-thirds of the island's population and who in 1950 still suffered from undernourishment, disease and poverty,[13] now own their own land, are well-fed, and possess their own homes. The damaged industries have been rehabilitated and many new ones have been established. Industrial production has exceeded the peak level under the Japanese. Local elections were held in 1950 and 1953. Among the officials in the Provincial, prefectural and municipal governments 67 per cent are Formosans,[14] and their participation is still increasing. Although we should not take it for granted that, on account of the absence of expressed sentiment, the Formosans are no longer in favor of the autonomy movement, it is fairly safe to assume that in view of the improved conditions as well as the imminent Communist menace, the Formosan people as a whole are not

13. W.I. Ladejinsky, "Land Reform in Formosa," Foreign Agriculture, Vol.14, No.6, June 1950, pp. 130-135.

14. A. F. Raper, etc., Urban and Industrial Taiwan--Crowded and Resourceful, Taipei, '54 p.283

986 too anxious for complete independence; at any
178 rate, not before they can successfully defend the island against aggression.

C. Toward the Government:

186 Except an insignificant number of aborigines
142 the Formosans are Chinese or of Chinese descent. Even under Japanese rule, they never forgot their own national origin. Poetry and songs composed during that period were replete with reminiscences of their mother country. That is why in 1945, the Formosan Chinese were overwhelmed with joy at the prospect of the island's being returned to Chinese rule after half a century of Japanese colonial dominance. But their enthusiasm was dampened by the abuses of Chen Yi's administration. The Nationalist government after 1949 made a determined effort to win back popular support. Economic reconstruction has been vigorously pushed forward to enable the island to achieve self-sufficienty and stability. Large government corporations have been converted to private firms and turned over to the local people. The political basis of the provincial government has been altered to permit increasing participation by Formosans.

In spite of the special concessions granted by the Nationalist Government in the past five years some Formosans, according to the sentiment expressed in the Provincial Assembly, complain that they have not been making as much headway politically as they would like. Others are not happy because the popularly elected mayors and magistrates do not have full authority in the settlement

186 642 of local affairs, since governments on the local level as provided by the Chinese Constitution exercise only those powers delegated to them by the central government. There is also the complaint, though not necessarily substantiated by fact, that the "elected Formosans often held office in name only and that Kuomintang men appointed under them held the real power."[15] To remedy such complaints and to make the Formosans more enthusiastic about self-government, two measures may be desirable: (a) extension of the powers of the Provincial Assembly, and (b) selection of personnel for top provincial posts, including that of the governor, by popular suffrage.

642 433 To gain more support from Formosans, the Nationalist government must also seek to improve further their economic well-being. Although the general industrial level has risen forty per cent above the Japanese peak year of 1941, neither in agriculture nor in industry have the gains kept pace with the increasing population. The per capita production is still below that of the Japanese period. Moreover, the rising cost of living has made the economic life of the island unstable. With American aid, the Nationalist Government has been trying to step up the industrial production of the island, but the prospect of arresting inflation is not very bright.

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15. Preston Schoyer, "Present Conditions on the Island," The Reporter, Vol. 12, March 10, 1955, p. 18.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2b.1,
Political Background

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CHINESE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

642 The Chinese Nationalist Government is
186 a democratic republic. The national flag has a red background which denotes the spirit of liberty and sacrifice, a white sun with twelve points, which represent twelve hour-periods of day, symbolizing unceasing progress, and a blue sky which signifies equality and justice for all.

I. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

646 The existing Chinese government derives its powers from the National Assembly which, according to the Constitution, exercises political powers on behalf of the people. (A chart showing the organization of the Chinese national government is appended at the end of the present chapter.)

The delegates to the National Assembly are elected on the basis of regional and vocational representation. There should be at least one delegate from each hsien or municipality. When the population of a hsien or a municipality exceeds 500,000, there should